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ACTION OFFICE CH-05

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C.O. 12356:DECL:OADR
TAGS: PGCV, PRUM, CH, US
SUBJECT: TFCNRI - PROVINCIAL RESPONSES TO PLA
ACTIONS IN BEIJING

1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: A CLOSE READING OF PUBLISHED PROVINCIAL RESPONSES TO THE PLA'S "RESTORATION OF ORDER" IN BEIJING SHOWS THAT SEVERAL PROVINCES WERE DECIDEDLY LESS ENTHUSIASTIC IN THEIR EXPRESSIONS OF SUPPORT FOR PLA ACTIONS. IN ALL, TWENTY-EIGHT PROVINCES, CITIES AND AUTONOMOUS REGIONS PUBLICLY RESPONDED TO THE JUNE 4 LIBERATION ARMY NEWSPAPER EDITORIAL AND THE JUNE 5 STATE COUNCIL REPORT DEFENDING THE ACTIONS OF THE PLA AND THE DECISION TO USE PLA FORCES IN BEIJING. ALTHOUGH ALL SUPPORTED THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO RESTORE ORDER, EIGHT RESPONDENTS EXPRESSED LESS THAN FULL SUPPORT, EITHER LIMITING THEIR PRAISE FOR THE PLA OR NOT MENTIONING IT AT ALL. ABSENT FROM ALL OF THESE EIGHT STATEMENTS WAS ANY MENTION OF DETAILED MEASURES EACH WOULD ADOPT TO BRING LAW AND ORDER TO THEIR REGIONS OR TO WIN POPULAR SUPPORT FOR PLA ACTIONS IN BEIJING. THE MAIN THEME OF THESE RESPONSES WAS THE NEED FOR STABILITY. SOME OF THESE PROVINCES ALSO CHOSE TO FOCUS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTINUING THE POLICIES OF REFORM AND OPENNESS AND THE NEED FOR STABLE CONDITIONS FOR PROMOTING BUSINESS AND THE FINANCIAL MARKET. NOT SURPRISINGLY, THESE EIGHT EXCEPTIONS WERE MOSTLY IN COASTAL REGIONS OR IN AREAS NOTED FOR THEIR INDEPENDENT THINKING.

3. NEVERTHELESS, THE VAST MAJORITY OF RESPONDENTS STOOD SQUARELY BEHIND THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO USE THE PLA AND PRAISED THE ACTIONS OF THE PLA. THE COMMON THEME THROUGHOUT THESE RESPONSES WAS THE NEED FOR LAW AND ORDER TO COPE WITH THE EXTRAORDINARY COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY THREAT FACING THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE NATION. ONLY XIZANG WENT SO FAR AS TO SUGGEST A FOREIGN INFLUENCE ON CHINA'S INTERNAL POLITICAL PROBLEMS, EMPHASIZING THE NEED TO DEFEND AGAINST FOREIGN INFLUENCE ATTEMPTING TO UNDERNEATH NATIONAL STABILITY. ALL OF THE HARD-LINE RESPONSES DETAILED MEASURES THEY WOULD TAKE TO REINVIGORATE PARTY LOYALTY AND PATRIOTISM FOR THE

NATION.

4. OF INTEREST WAS THE ISSUANCE OF TWO STATEMENTS BY GANSU. WHILE ITS INITIAL STATEMENT WAS BRIEF AND NOT HIGHLY SUPPORTIVE OF THE PLA, ITS SUBSEQUENT STATEMENT WAS MORE ENTHUSIASTIC. END SUMMARY.

5. THE JUNE 4 LIBERATION ARMY NEWSPAPER EDITORIAL AND THE JUNE 5 STATE COUNCIL REPORT DEFENDING THE GOVERNMENT DECISION TO USE THE PLA TO RESTORE ORDER IN BEIJING AND PRAISING THE PLA'S PERFORMANCE DURING OPERATIONS IN THE CAPITAL RECEIVED WIDE MEDIA AND PRINT COVERAGE. THE PROVINCES, AUTONOMOUS REGIONS AND SEVERAL MAJOR CITIES CONVENED SPECIAL MEETINGS TO DISCUSS BOTH ANNOUNCEMENTS AND ISSUED STATEMENTS SUPPORTING THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND THE PLA. THE STATEMENTS WERE CARRIED OVER SEVERAL DAYS BY THE PEOPLE'S DAILY. THESE RESPONSES CAN BE DIVIDED INTO TWO GROUPS: THOSE WHO EXPRESSED LESS THAN FULL SUPPORT FOR THE PLA AND THOSE WHO PROVIDED UNQUESTIONED SUPPORT FOR THE PLA AND THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

6. RESPONSES MODERATING PRAISE FOR THE PLA

6. ALTHOUGH ALL THE PROVINCES EXPRESSED FULL AND UNQUESTIONED SUPPORT FOR THE DECISION OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT TO USE THE PLA TO RESTORE ORDER IN BEIJING, SOME PROVINCES APPEARED TO MODERATE THEIR PRAISE FOR THE ACTIONS OF THE PLA IN CARRYING OUT OPERATIONS IN BEIJING. THE RESPONSES EITHER ONLY SOUNDED A BRIEF NOTE OF PRAISE OR DID NOT MENTION THE PLA AT ALL. OTHER RESPONSES EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR STABILITY AND THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING A SITUATION BENEFICIAL TO THE PROMOTION OF TRADE, INVESTMENT AND THE FINANCIAL MARKET. RATHER THAN FOCUSING ON THE STRUGGLE TO CONTROL COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES, SOME RESPONSES FOCUSED ON THE NEED TO CONTINUE THE POLICIES OF REFORM AND OPENNESS. IT IS ALSO NOTEWORTHY THAT THESE MORE MODERATE RESPONSES DID NOT DETAIL SPECIFIC MEASURES EACH WOULD IMPLEMENT TO BRING THE POPULACE SQUARELY INTO SUPPORT OF THE PLA, AND TO BRING LAW AND ORDER TO THEIR REGION. THE UNDERLYING THEME WAS STABILITY, RATHER THAN LAW AND ORDER. A FEW SAMPLE RESPONSES FOLLOW.

7. GUANGDONG WAS ONE OF THE LAST PROVINCES TO ISSUE A STATEMENT OF SUPPORT (JUNE 9) AND CONSPIRACIOUSLY OMITTED FROM ITS STATEMENT THE USUAL STRONG EXPRESSIONS OF SUPPORT FOR THE MARTIAL LAW FORCES, THE PLA, AND EFFORTS TO ENFORCE LAW AND ORDER IN THE PROVINCE. RATHER THAN CALLING FOR CENTRAL PROVINCIAL CONTROL OF ALL ASPECTS OF EDUCATING THE MASSES AND ENSURING FULL SUPPORT FOR THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, THE GUANGDONG STATEMENT INDICATED THAT THE PROVINCIAL AUTHORITIES WILL RELY ON "LOCAL OFFICIALS" TO DO THE JOB. THE MAIN FOCUS OF THEIR ATTENTION WILL BE TO PROMOTE STABILITY AND A POSITIVE ATMOSPHERE CONDUCTIVE TO "PROMOTING FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND THE MARKET".

8. SHANGHAI, WHILE ISSUING AN IMMEDIATE STATEMENT OF SUPPORT FOR THE JUNE 4 PLA COMMENTARY, WAS MORE CIRCUMSPECT IN TONE. IN A CAREFULLY CRAFTED STATEMENT, SHANGHAI AVOIDED MENTION OF SPECIFIC STEPS IT WOULD TAKE TO ENSURE THAT THE POPULACE WAS SQUARELY BEHIND THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT IN SUPPORT OF THE PLA ACTIONS IN BEIJING, AND SPECIFIC MEASURES IT WOULD TAKE TO PROMOTE LAW AND ORDER IN SHANGHAI.

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8. STATEMENTS FROM ANHUI, FUJIAN AND A FEW OTHER PROVINCES WERE ALSO NOTABLE FOR WHAT WAS NOT SAID. NONE OF THESE PROVINCES DETAILED MEASURES THEY WOULD TAKE TO ENSURE FULL SUPPORT FOR THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND THE PLA, AND EITHER TONED DOWN OR OMITTED PRAISE FOR THE PLA.

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RESPONSES STRONGLY SUPPORTIVE OF PLA ACTIONS

10. PROVINCES STRONGLY SUPPORTIVE OF PLA ACTIONS CITED THE EXTRAORDINARY CHALLENGE THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE COUNTRY FACED FROM DEMONSTRATING STUDENTS. ACCORDING TO THEIR STATEMENTS, VIOLENCE, UNPRECEDENTED SINCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATION 48 YEARS AGO, WAS A MAJOR THREAT TO THE STABILITY OF THE NATION. THE PROVINCES SUPPORTED THE DECISION TO USE THE PLA TO RESTORE LAW AND ORDER AS VITAL TO THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF THE NATION AND THE PARTY. SEVERAL PROVINCES DETAILED MEASURES THEY ARE TAKING TO REINVIGORATE PARTY LOYALTY AND PATRIOTISM. THESE MEASURES INCLUDED: CONDUCTING STUDY GROUPS TO ADVANCE SUPPORT FOR THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT IN RESTORING ORDER IN BEIJING; STRENGTHENING "PROPER" EDUCATION OF THE YOUTH; EMPHASIZING THE VALUES OF DEVOTION TO FAMILY AND LOYALTY TO THE NATION; PRAISING THE EFFORTS OF THE PLA; AND ADOPTING MEASURES TO ENSURE THAT LAW AND ORDER ARE MAINTAINED IN SCHOOLS, FACTORIES AND ON THE STREETS. IN THEIR STATEMENTS, THE PROVINCES PRAISED THE PLA ACTION IN BEIJING AND EXPRESSED DEEP CONDOLENCES OVER THE NUMBER OF PLA LOSSES. A FEW SAMPLE RESPONSES FOLLOW.

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11. SICHUAN ISSUED A STATEMENT NOTING THAT PROVINCIAL PARTY LEADER YANG RUDAI CONVENED AN EMERGENCY MEETING OF THE PROVINCIAL STANDING COMMITTEE IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE JUNE 4 PLA COMMENTARY WAS BROADCAST. SICHUAN OFFICIALS DRAFTED A DETAILED LIST OF MEASURES THEY WOULD TAKE TO RAISE THE CONSCIOUSNESS AND SUPPORT OF THE MASSES FOR THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND THE PLA. THEY ALSO EMPHASIZED THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE SECURITY POLICE IN MAINTAINING LAW AND ORDER IN THE PROVINCE AND THE COUNTRY.

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12. INNER MONGOLIA WAS ONE OF THE FIRST PROVINCES TO ISSUE A STATEMENT, AND NOT ONLY PRAISED THE GOVERNMENT ACTION, BUT EXPRESSED THE HIGHEST SUPPORT FOR THE PLA. ECHOING THE THEME OF LAW AND ORDER, INNER MONGOLIA PRAISED THE ACTION OF THE PLA AND EXPRESSED ITS DEEPEST REGRETS OVER THE LOSS OF LIFE AMONG PLA RANKS.

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13. JILIN EXPRESSED SIMILAR SENTIMENTS IN ITS DOCUMENT SUPPORTING THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. IN A LENGTHY STATEMENT, JILIN ARTICULATED SEVERAL MEASURES TO ENSURE STABILITY. OF NOTE WAS ITS CALL FOR STRENGTHENING THE LEADERSHIP AT EVERY LEVEL OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATION AND TO STAND AS ONE WITH THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT IN CONTROLLING COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES.

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14. SHANDONG, WITH THE LONGEST DRAFTED DOCUMENT OF SUPPORT, RECEIVED A SEPARATE HEADLINE, RATHER THAN BEING LISTED WITH OTHER PROVINCIAL RESPONSES, IN THE JUNE 7 ISSUE OF THE PEOPLE'S DAILY. SHANDONG WAS FORCEFUL AND UNEQUIVOCAL IN ITS SUPPORT FOR THE GOVERNMENT. THE PROVINCIAL GENERAL SECRETARY JIANG CHUNYUN NOTED THE DATES AND TIMES HE CONVENED MAJOR MEETINGS AND THE EFFORTS THE CENTRAL PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT WAS TAKING TO ENSURE UNANIMITY OF SUPPORT BY THE PARTY FAITHFUL.

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15. XIZANG, IN ITS JUNE 7 STATEMENT, REMAINED FIRMLY IN THE GOVERNMENT CAMP. EMPHASIZING LAW AND ORDER, IT POINTED TO MARTIAL LAW IN LHASA AS AN EFFECTIVE MEASURE IN MAINTAINING ORDER. IT CAUTIONED AGAINST FOREIGN INFLUENCE, PARTICULARLY ANY FOREIGN SUPPORT FOR SEPARATISM IN LHASA AND STATED THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO DEFEND AGAINST FOREIGN INFLUENCE ATTEMPTING TO UNDERMINE NATIONAL STABILITY. XIZANG PLEDGED TO WORK HARD FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, LAW AND ORDER, AND DEFENSE OF THE SOUTH-EAST BORDER OF CHINA AGAINST FOREIGN INFLUENCE OR TAMPERING IN CHINA'S DOMESTIC POLITICS.

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16. JIANGXI AND OTHER PROVINCES NOTED THAT THE DEMONSTRATIONS IN TIAMANWEN WERE UNPRECEDENTED AND REPRESENTED A MAJOR CHALLENGE TO THE EXISTENCE OF THE NATION. NOT SINCE THE PRC WAS ESTABLISHED 48 YEARS AGO HAD THE NATION FACED SUCH A SERIOUS CHALLENGE.

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OTHER POINTS OF INTEREST

17. GANSU ISSUED TWO STATEMENTS. IN ITS INITIAL STATEMENT OF SUPPORT ON JUNE 7, THE BRIGHTEST OF ALL PUBLISHED PROVINCIAL STATEMENTS, GANSU WAS SHORT ON PRAISE FOR THE MARTIAL LAW FORCES AND DID NOT DETAIL ANY STEPS IT WOULD TAKE TO MAINTAIN ORDER IN THE PROVINCE OR ENSURE SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE FOR THE PLA AND CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. IN ITS SECOND AND MUCH LONGER STATEMENT, ISSUED JUNE 9, IT WAS MORE RESOLUTE IN DETAILING STEPS IT WOULD TAKE TO EDUCATE THE MASSES AND SUPPORT LAW AND ORDER MEASURES.

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COMPILED LIST OF RESPONSES

18. BELOW ARE TWO LISTS, ONE WHICH DISPLAYS THOSE PROVINCES WHICH, IN OUR VIEW, EXPRESSED STRONGER SUPPORT FOR THE PLA ACTIONS, AND A SECOND LIST OF THOSE PROVINCES WHICH WERE MORE CIRCUMSPECT OR LIMITED IN THEIR PRAISE OF THE PLA, AS INDICATED IN THEIR PUBLISHED RESPONSES TO EVENTS. (CAVEAT: WE HAVE TO ASSUME THAT SOME PROVINCIAL STATEMENTS MAY NOT HAVE GENUINELY REFLECTED THE ATTITUDES OF PROVINCIAL LEADERS, ONE WAY OR THE OTHER. IT IS ESPECIALLY LIKELY THAT SOME OF THOSE PROVINCES ON THE "HARD-LINE" LIST DO NOT BELONG THERE.) THE DATE OF EACH STATEMENT IS ALSO NOTED.

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STRONGLY SUPPORTS THE GOVERNMENT AND PLA

SICHUAN (6/4)	SHANXI (6/7)
INNER MONGOLIA (6/4)	JIANGXI (6/7)
XINJIANG (6/4)	NEIJIANG (6/8)
SHANDONG (6/5)	HUBEI (6/8)
JIANGXI (6/6)	NINGXIA (6/8)
XIZANG (6/7)	KEBEI (6/8)
NUKHAN (6/7)	GANSU (6/8)
JIANGSU (6/7)	ZHEJIANG (6/9)
HEILONGJIANG (6/7)	BAIKAN (6/10)
QINGHAI (6/7)	LIAONING (6/10)

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STRONGLY SUPPORTS GOVERNMENT, MODERATELY SUPPORTS PLA

SHANGHAI (6/4)	ANHUI (6/7)
FUJIAN (6/6)	YUNNAN (6/7)
SHAANXI (6/7)	GUANGDONG (6/9)
GUANGXI (6/7)	GUIZHOU (6/9)

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19. COMMENT: ALL THE PROVINCES EXPRESSED THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO USE THE PLA

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TO RESTORE ORDER IN BEIJING, YET SEVERAL PROVINCES
TEMPERED THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE PLA OPERATIONS IN
BEIJING. RATHER THAN FOCUS ON A THEME OF LAW AND
ORDER, THEY FOCUSED ON THE NEED FOR STABILITY TO HELP
PROMOTE TRADE AND INVESTMENT. THESE MORE MODERATE
RESPONSES IN SUPPORT OF THE PLA PROBABLY REFLECT TO
SOME DEGREE DISPLEASURE WITH THE EXCESSES OF THE
PLA. THOSE PROVINCES WHICH PROVIDED MORE CIRCUMSPECT
STATEMENTS WERE MOSTLY FROM COASTAL REGIONS AND THOSE
AREAS WHICH HAVE BEEN NOTED FOR THEIR INDEPENDENT
THINKING. LILLEY

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